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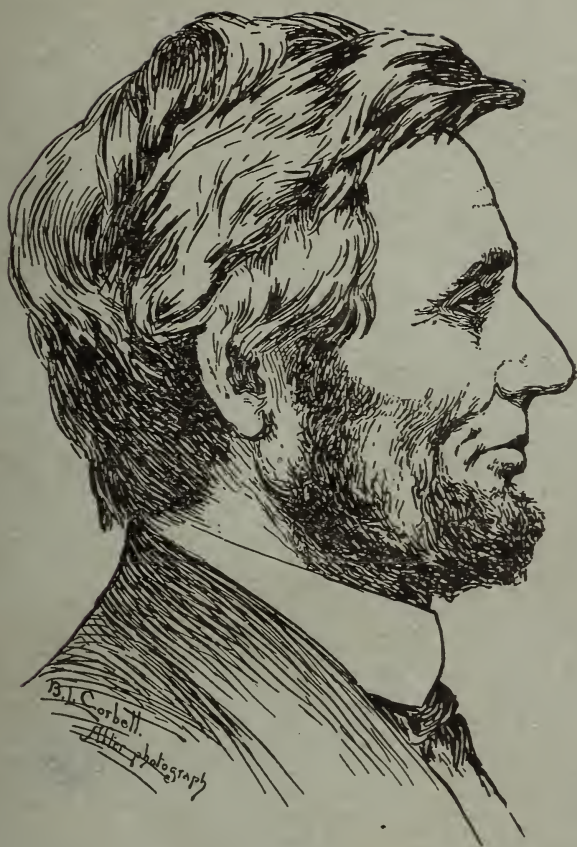
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A. Lincoln



LINCOLN REPUBLICAN *League*  
BOOKLET No. 2.

# EMPIRE or REPUBLIC?

“What I say is, no man is good enough to govern another man without that man’s consent.”

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

From Complete Works of Lincoln,  
Vol. I, page 195.

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“Those who deny freedom for others deserve it not themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it.”—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Complete Works of Lincoln,  
Vol. I, p. 533.

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Mrs. Edwin C. Dinwiddie,

Dec. 23, 1935

Minneapolis:  
Hall, Black & Co., Printers.  
1900.

# THE IMPERIAL POLICY

## AND

# OUR PHILIPPINE COLONIES.

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(All capital and italics used in the quoted matter in this booklet, are the editor's.)

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"I have always thought that all men should be free, but if any should be slaves, it should be first those who desire it for themselves and secondly those who desire it for others."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

From an address to an Indiana Regiment, March 17, 1865. Complete Works of Lincoln, Vol. II., p. 662.

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The Philippine Archipelago contains a few large islands, (chief among which is Luzon,) and unnumbered small ones, with a population estimated to be eight millions or more, who may be grouped into two classes in considering their relations to the United States.

A small portion, occupying what is called the Sulu Archipelago are Mahometans, and are thus described by Pres. Schurman of the Philippine Commission.

"They are — — — powerful, religious fanatics — — who care nothing for death, and believe that the road to heaven can be attained by killing Christians."

These are now at peace with the United States, the administration having made a treaty with them, whereby the United States government agrees to pay the

Sulu (or Moro) chiefs monthly stipends, to protect them against foreigners, and to guarantee them their domestic institutions, polygamy and slavery.

The United States Constitution provides that the senate must ratify treaties, but the senate had nothing to do with this one, which reinstates slavery under our flag, in violation of the 13th amendment to the constitution.

Much the larger part of the population of the Philippines are Christians of the Malay race. It is these people who had carried on the insurrections against Spain, and who, as allies, fought with our forces against her sovereignty in these islands. The following quotations will give a good idea of their condition and character when war was begun on them by the administration early in 1899. In the words of U. S. Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts:

“They were fit for independence. They had churches, libraries, works of art and education. They were better educated than many American communities within the memory of some of us. They were eager and ambitious to learn. They were governing their entire island except Manila, in order and in quiet, with municipal governments, courts of justice, schools, and a complete constitution resting upon the consent of the people. They are now as fit for self government as was Japan when she was welcomed into the family of nations.”—From letter of Hon. Geo. F. Hoar, Springfield Republican, January 11, 1900.

Admiral Dewey wrote of them in his dispatch to the authorities at Washington, June 27, 1898:

“Aguinaldo has gone to attend a meeting of insurgent leaders, for the purpose of forming a

civil government ;” and in commendation added, “In my opinion, these people are far superior in their intelligence, and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba.”

The following tribute to the character of the Filipinos is taken from the report of the Philippine Commission.

#### ENCOURAGING PROSPECTS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES.

“The Commission, while not underrating the difficulty of governing the Philippines, is disposed to believe the task easier than is generally supposed. For this confidence — — — it has the following among other grounds: First.—The study by educated Filipinos of the various examples of constitutional government, has resulted in their selection, as best adapted to the conditions and character of the various people inhabiting the archipelago, of almost precisely the political institutions and arrangements which have been worked out in practice by the American people; and these are also, though less definitely apprehended, the political ideas of the masses of the Philippine people themselves.

This point has been frequently illustrated in the course of the preceding exposition, and it must here suffice to say that the commission was constantly surprised by the harmony subsisting between the rights, privileges, and institutions enjoyed by Americans, and the reforms desired by the best Filipinos.

Secondly.—In addition to the adaptation of the American form of government to the Filipinos, the Filipinos themselves are of unusually promising material. They possess admirable personal and domestic virtues; and though they are uncon-

trollable when such elemental passions as jealousy, revenge, or resentment are once aroused, most of them, practically all of the civilized inhabitants of Luzon and the Visayas, are naturally and normally peaceful, docile, and deferential to constituted authority. On the suppression of the insurrection, the great majority of them will be found to be good, law-abiding citizens. Thirdly.—Though the majority of the inhabitants are uneducated, they evince a strong desire to be instructed, and the example of Japan is with them a cherished ideal of the value of education. A system of free schools for the people, another American institution, it will be noted, has been an important element in every Philippine program of reforms. Fourthly.—The educated Filipinos, though constituting a minority, are far more numerous than is generally supposed, and are scattered all over the archipelago; and the commission desires to bear the strongest testimony to the high range of their intelligence, and not only to their intellectual training, but also to their social refinement as well as to the grace and charm of their personal character. These educated Filipinos, in a word, are the equals of the men one meets in similar vocations—law, medicine, business, etc.,—in Europe or America.”—Report of Philippine Commission, pages 119 and 120.

“The Filipinos to-day (always excepting the Sulu groups and parts of Mindanao), are a pure democracy without distinctions of birth or rank; a mass of people without hereditary chieftains or rulers.”—Same Report, page 101.

The Philippine Islands were nominally under Spanish rule for centuries, but insurrections were frequent, and United States Consul Williams, under date of Feb-

ruary 22, 1898, sent the following from Manila to the State Department at Washington.

"Conditions here and in Cuba are practically alike. War exists; battles are of almost daily occurrence. The crown forces have been unable to dislodge a rebel army within ten miles of Manila. Insurgents are being armed and drilled, are rapidly increasing in numbers and efficiency, and all agree that a general uprising will come as soon as the Governor General embarks for Spain, which is fixed for March."—From Senate Document 62, pages 319-320.

This was the condition at Luzon at the time (May 1898), when the fleet under Admiral Dewey entered Manila bay. Meanwhile negotiations were pending between Admiral Dewey and the U. S. Consular representatives at Singapore, and Hongkong, on one hand, and General Aguinaldo, the most prominent Filipino leader. These resulted in the return of General Aguinaldo in a United States ship from Hongkong to Manila, and his organizing and arming additional forces of insurgent Filipinos, and establishing an independent Filipino government within Luzon and elsewhere in the Philippine islands. This was done with the concurrence and by the assistance of Admiral Dewey. The insurgent Filipinos completed a land investment of Manila, and captured large bodies of Spanish troops in other parts of the island, so that in fact when Manila was surrendered to Admiral Dewey, all the Philippines outside Manila, except the city of Iloilo, were then in possession of the Filipinos.

Meanwhile the government established by the

Filipinos was discharging all its functions successfully and creditably, and the islands were orderly.

Aguinaldo's military and civil services called forth full commendation from the United States naval and military commanders. Thus far, until nearly the date of the surrender of Manila, the situation was one of harmonious co-operation between the United States forces, naval and military, and the Filipinos.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION AVOWS ITS PURPOSE OF IMPERIALISM.

Dating from the events immediately preceding the surrender of Manila, all conditions changed, indicating unmistakably, changed instructions given from Washington to the U. S. Commanders at Manila.

Heretofore the Filipinos had been welcomed as allies, and they in turn had welcomed the United States forces as friends who were to aid them in achieving national independence. Even so late as May 4, 1898, the Singapore Free Press published an article given below, which was inclosed in a letter of Consul General Pratt, to Asst. Sec'y, of State, Day.

The article from the Singapore Free Press reads thus:

“General Aguinaldo's policy embraces the independence of the Philippines whose internal affairs would be controlled under European and American advices. American protection would be desirable temporarily, on the same lines as that which might be instituted hereafter in Cuba.”—  
See Senate Document 62, pages 343-344.

In his letter dated Singapore, May 20th, 1898, Consul General Pratt to Asst. Sec'y Day, Pratt enclosed

a copy of the manifesto of the Filipinos in Hongkong to their Countrymen in Luzon which begins as follows:

“Compatriots,—Divine Providence is about to place independence within our reach, and in a way the most free and independent could hardly wish for. The Americans, not from mercenary motives, but for the sake of humanity, and the lamentations of so many persecuted people, have considered it opportune to extend their protecting mantle to our beloved country, now that they have been obliged to sever relations with Spain, etc.”—See Senate Document 62, page 345.

Just when the administration reached its final determination to adopt the imperialist policy, with its purpose of colonial possessions cannot be stated with exactness and certainty. This policy included the subjugation and “forcible annexation” of the Philippine islands.

The administration seems to have obtained in the final adjustment with Spain, something more than the cession of the Philippines and Porto Rico, Spanish Colonial possessions. Perhaps by secret article of treaty, perhaps only by mere understanding between our President and the Spanish diplomats, it came into possession of that characteristic duplicity, double dealing and treachery which have heretofore been considered exclusively Spanish methods. Whatever be the explanation, it is an historical fact that it has been the evident purpose of the Administration to withhold information from the public, but in the pages of Senate Document 62, and in the reports of General Otis, may be found these facts, which interpreted by the searching inquiries of U. S. Senators Hoar, Pettigrew and

others, aided by the few independent papers of the country, and the explanations of the record, by the search lights of Schurz, Atkinson, Boutwell, Hoar and others, tell the infamous story of our Philippine war of conquest.

These are the more important features of the story. We first welcomed the Filipinos as allies, and by their aid we wrested the Philippines from Spain. During the months preceding the surrender of Manila, or from January to July 25th, 1898, no intimation was given to the Filipinos that they would be denied by us the independence we had promised Cuba.

In the action of our naval and military authorities at the surrender of Manila, July 25th, 1898, by which the Filipinos were studiously excluded from any share of the honor, was given the first direct intimation of the final treachery of the Administration to the Filipinos. Nevertheless with infinite patience the Filipinos awaited our final action, until on the 21st of December, 1898, President McKinley issued the famous (and infamous) proclamation censored and amended by General Otis, which gave the first formal notice to the Filipinos of the purpose of the United States to claim and enforce sovereignty over them. Still the Filipinos with infinite and sublime patience awaited actual attack.

Our national administration meanwhile refused these eight millions people over whom it was its purpose to claim sovereignty, a hearing at Washington, or a hearing before that convention, the Peace Commission, which was to determine their future.

Our administration, which had welcomed them as

allies, now cast them aside as so many slaves to be purchased, who must await in silence and without protest the will of their Spanish and their American masters.

The story after the capture of Manila is briefly this. By request of General Otis enforced by threats, the Filipinos on the 13th of September, 1898, withdrew from the city of Manila, and from its suburbs and defenses, to the capture of which they had bravely and ably contributed. In February, 1899, actual hostilities began by the action of a Nebraska soldier firing upon a Filipino patrol (not a hostile body of soldiers, but a mere guard, picking up stragglers). An engagement followed, of which General Otis writes thus :

“The battle at Manila commenced at half past eight o'clock on the evening of February 4th and continued until five o'clock the next evening. *The engagement was strictly defensive on the part of the insurgents, and one of vigorous attack by our forces.*”

Notice the italicized words which show that the fighting was entirely of our seeking. This confirms a well authenticated report of a fact which General Otis does not state, namely : That after the fighting began, General Aguinaldo sent to General Otis deprecating further hostilities,—stating that the fighting had begun accidentally,—and requested that a suitable neutral zone should be mutually established along lines agreeable to General Otis, which would prevent any like accident again precipitating hostilities. To this General Otis is reported to have answered, that the fighting had begun and it must go on.

## A WAR NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN PARTY SUPREMACY.

This war of "criminal aggression" has gone on. Part of its motive has doubtless been the exigencies of the political party which the administration represents. This opinion has strong confirmation in the letters of Mr. Collins, representing the Associated Press in Manila, and whose dispatches were so censored by General Otis, that as vehicles of news of what was transpiring in the Philippines, they have no value. Mr. Collins protested against this censorship and the suppression of news, and reports as to his interview with General Otis as follows :

"But when General Otis came down in the frank admission that it was not so much to prevent the newspapers from giving information and assistance to the enemy, (the legitimate function, and according to our view, the only legitimate one of a censorship), but to keep the knowledge of conditions here from the public at home, and when the censor had repeatedly told us in ruling out plain statements of undisputed facts, '*My instructions are to let nothing go that can hurt the administration,*' we concluded that protest was justifiable."

In the same letter Mr. Collins continues :

"Recently I filed what I considered a most inoffensive statement that the business men who had appeared before the Commission had advocated the retention of the existing silver system of currency. The censor said : '*I ought not to let that go. That would be a lift for Bryan. My instructions are to shut off everything that could hurt McKinley's administration. That is free silver.*'"

Read the italicized passage and note the dishonest

methods of the administration, which it has either inherited from the Spaniards, or possesses naturally.

This war of "criminal aggression" has been marked from its beginning, by the usual steadiness and devotion to duty of the American soldier. He has had every advantage of discipline, equipment, and supplies, and has been pitted against a poorly armed and only slightly disciplined enemy.

The climate is however against the invading army, and the Filipinos, defeated in all important engagements, are nevertheless in the early months of 1900, still in scattered hostile bodies continuing the war, and compelling the hated invaders to keep a force of seventy thousand soldiers in the Philippines.

This hostile attitude of those whom President McKinley is making the subject of his policy of "benevolent assimilation" which as a price of their independence is indignantly spurned by the brave brown men whom we are subjugating, indicates the magnitude of the task before us.

It has already cost us a great expenditure of life of our soldiers, by casualties of war, and the deadly climate with which we are contending, and this loss of life is and will be continuous. It is interesting and instructive to read General Otis's requisition for one thousand leg shackles for our soldiers made insane by the peculiar conditions of this useless, indefensible, infamous war.

The enormous expenditure in treasure also necessarily will continue,—and not one single life need have been sacrificed,—nor any considerable expenditure of treasure made, later than our occupation of Manila, if

our nation had had at its head a President whose statemanship was of the school of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, rather than of Mark Hanna, Denby, Roosevelt and Beveridge.

Meanwhile, that the reader may have one glimpse of the heroic men we are subjugating, and of the endless duration of our infamous task in this war of "Criminal Aggression," read of the heroic death of one of the many thousands Filipinos who have laid down their lives for national independence,—giving their lives for their country,—their souls to God, their memories to undying fame.

#### THE DEATH OF GREGORIO DEL PILAR.

Extracts from a letter written by Richard Henry Little, special correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, dated Manila, December 18, 1899, and published in the Chicago Tribune of February 4, 1900.

It was a great fight that was fought away up on the trail of lonely Tilad pass on that Saturday morning of December 2. It brought glory to Major Marsh's battalion of the Thirty-third Volunteer Infantry, who were the victors. It brought no discredit to the little band of sixty Filipinos who fought and died there. Sixty was the number that at Aguinaldo's orders had come down into the pass that morning to arrest the onward march of the Americans. Seven were all that went back over the pass that night to tell Aguinaldo they had tried and failed. Fifty-two of them were either killed or wounded. And among them, the last to retreat, we found the body of young General Gregorio del Pilar. We had seen him cheering his men in the fight. One

of our companies crouched up close under the side of the cliff where he had built his first intrenchment, heard his voice continually during the fight urging his men to greater effort, scolding them, praising them, cursing them, appealing one moment to their love of their native land and the next instant threatening to kill them himself, if they did not stand firm. Driven from the first intrenchment he fell slowly back to the second in full sight of our sharp-shooters and under a heavy fire. Not until every man around him in the second intrenchment was down, did he turn his white horse and ride slowly up the winding trail. Then we who were below saw an American squirm his way out to the top of a high flat rock, and take deliberate aim at the figure on the white horse. We held our breath, not knowing whether to pray that the sharp-shooter would shoot straight or miss. Then came the spiteful crack of the Krag rifle and the man on horseback rolled to the ground, and when the troops charging up the mountain side reached him, the boy general of the Filipinos was dead.

We went on up the mountain side. After H company had driven the insurgents out of their second position and killed Pilar, the other companies had rushed straight up the trail, and never stopped until they were far up above the clouds and there was no longer an insurgent in sight. As we went up the trail we passed dead Filipino soldiers. We counted ten in all. Some had been shot several times. We found bloody trails that led to places on the edge of the cliffs, where wounded men had either jumped or fallen off. We passed the second intrenchment high up on the trail. It was built

of heavy rocks well banked with earth. Just past this a few hundred yards we saw a solitary body lying in the road. The body was almost stripped of clothing, and there were no marks of rank left on the bloodsoaked coat. But the face of the dead man had a look I had never noticed on the face of other dead men I had found in insurgent uniform on the field of battle, in the wake of an American firing line. The features were clear cut and forehead high and shapely. I decided the man must have been an insurgent officer. A soldier came running down the trail.

"That's old Pilar," he said. "We got the old rascal. I guess he's sorry he ever went up against the Thirty-third."

"There ain't no doubt about its being Pilar," rattled on the young soldier. "We got his diary, and his letters, and all his papers, and Sullivan of our company's got his pants, and Snider's got his shoes, but he can't wear them because they're too small, and a sergeant in G company got one of his silver spurs, and a lieutenant got the other, and somebody swiped the cuff buttons before I got here or I would have swiped them, and all I got was a stud button and his collar with blood on it."

So this was the end of Gregorio del Pilar. Only twenty-two years old, he managed to make himself a leader of men when he was hardly more than a boy, and at last had laid down his life for his convictions. Major Marsh had the diary. In it he had written under the date of December 2, the day he was killed :

"The general has given me the pick of all the men that can be spared and ordered me to defend the pass.

I realize what a terrible task is given me. And yet I feel that this is the most glorious moment of my life. What I do is done for my beloved country. No sacrifice can be too great."

A private, sitting by the camp fire, was exhibiting a handkerchief. "It's old Pilar's. It's got 'Dolores Hosea' on the corner. I guess that was his girl. Well, it's all off with Gregorio."

"Anyhow," said Private Sullivan, "I got his pants. He won't need 'em any more."

The man who had the general's shoes strode proudly past, refusing with scorn a Mexican dollar and a pair of shoes taken from one of the private insurgent soldiers. A private sitting on a rock was examining a golden locket containing a curl of a woman's hair. "Got the locket off his neck, said the soldier. - - -"

As the main column started on its march for the summit of the mountain a turn in the trail brought us again in sight of the insurgent general far down below us. There had been no time to bury him. Not even a blanket or a poncho had been thrown over him.

A crow sat on the dead man's feet. Another perched on his head. The fog settled down upon us. We could see the body no longer.

We carved not a line, and we raised not a stone,  
But we left him alone in his glory.

And when Private Sullivan went by in his trousers, and Snider with his shoes, and the other man who had the cuff buttons, and the sergeant who had the spur, and the lieutenant who had the other spur, and the man that had the handkerchief, and another man that had his shoulder straps, it suddenly occurred to me that his glory was about all we had left him.

## A WAR WITHOUT HONOR.

General Lawton and many others have died bravely in this war of "Criminal Aggression." Alas that these brave men, our countrymen, should have been compelled to give their lives needlessly—and in a war where all the honor which will be recalled by unsparing history, will attach to those whom our soldiers have slain. All that is here written of the story of our attempted conquest of the Filipinos can be authenticated by reference to the official records in Washington. These two years of loss and shame are the record of what has been termed by Imperialists :

## A STRENUOUS NATIONAL LIFE.

A well known representative of the Imperialist policy, using an ear-tickling phrase, has declared for a strenuous national life. This is the key note of the present administration, and thoughtful and patriotic voters should carefully mark the result of its practical workings.

During the past two years we have humbled poor, crippled, dying Spain, and have wrested from her those revolted colonies which she was unable to govern, or to long retain. In our war with Spain the administration had the general consent of the nation, for we began it, with a solemn pledge to the world, that it should be a war for the liberation and independence of Cuba, and expressly disclaimed any purpose of territorial aggrandizement.

During these two years we have trampled these pledges under our feet, and have by our treatment of

our Filipino allies made obsolete the old time phrase of Punic faith, and hereafter the world may well use American faith as the synonym of perfidy. We have forced the patriotic Filipinos, who at first welcomed us to their hearths and hearts as their liberators from Spanish tyranny, to fight us armed only with the righteousness of their cause, and their sublime patriotism, for the independence, of which we seek to rob them.

The sons of those who fought at Lexington and Bunker Hill, at Saratoga and Yorktown, and who tramped the frozen snow at Valley Forge with bare and bleeding feet, laying down their lives for our national independence,—have hunted the brave brown men of Luzon from their homes, slaying them inside the hearth-stones they defended with their lives, or chasing them relentlessly into the jungles.

We have given to the Cubans, to the Porto Ricans, to the South American republics, reason to distrust, fear and hate us. All who love liberty for liberty's sake, who desire it "for all men and everywhere," are bowed in shame for us, despairing of our future, and of the future of liberty.

In these two years of "strenuous life" we have outgrown and turned our backs upon Washington, Jefferson, Clay, Webster, and Lincoln; we have involved the nation in entangling alliances with European powers; we have for the first time in our nation's history made it impossible to express national sympathy for a brave people, struggling with a courage never surpassed, against an overwhelming power, which now unblushingly and unchallenged demands a surrender by the Boers of their national independence; and lastly as

the final expression of these two years of "strenuous national life," comes the assertion from President McKinley that our nation's constitution does not follow our nation's flag.

It must be that the voter who reads these words will pause and ask,—Is this fatal turning away from our national traditions, final and irremediable? Happily it is not yet final, nor will be until the nation shall in 1900 determine its verdict upon those questions and policies which have arisen since 1896. We can yet say to the Filipinos, you shall have restored and guaranteed to you that national independence, of which we have attempted to rob you; we can say to Cuba and to Porto Rico, all that has been promised or implied to your people, shall be fulfilled, faithfully, liberally, largely, in its letter and in its spirit.

This course will enable us to cut loose from all entangling European alliances; will liberate the national conscience and unseal its fettered speech. This course will restore its lost honor and faith to our nation, and assure the renewed respect of our sister republics. This course alone will restore that "government of the people, by the people, for the people," which has been usurped by syndicates and trusts; a government foreign to our traditions, fatal to our liberties, and when understood, hateful to our people, and which can be made permanent only by constantly augmented standing armies.

Which shall it be, Empire or Republic? Shall we follow Abraham Lincoln or Mark Hanna?

Shall we adhere to Republicanism, as voiced by Sherman, Boutwell, Schurz, Edmunds, Hoar, Hender-

son, and a host of others, who stood by Lincoln's side while he was still with us, as his trusted friends and advisers, or shall we follow McKinley, Quay, Platt, Roosevelt, and learn from these that our constitution, and the liberties and rights of citizenship, of which we have boasted during all the years of our national life; for which our fathers gave their fortunes and their lives in 1776; for which our fathers and our brothers offered their lives on so many bloody battle fields in our civil war; for which our brothers and our sons rushed to arms heeding the cry of enslaved Cuba in 1898, no longer follows the flag?

We cannot too often read those often-quoted words of Lincoln, spoken at the dedication of the national cemetery at Gettysburg, November 19, 1863:

"It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us,—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Read and study the meaning of these words of President David Starr Jordan, of the Leland Stanford University of California, from an address delivered at Ann Arbor, Michigan, March 5, 1900.

#### THE FOUR TYRANNIES OF HUMAN POLITICS.

"The only war in which any race as a whole has been improved has been through the preservation

of its best and the loss of its worst examples, and democracy is the condition which favors this. The only race degeneration ever known is that produced by one or all of democracy's arch enemies,—slavery, aristocracy, militarism, imperialism, the four tyrannies of human politics, not one of which appears without the other. The effect of these forces is to destroy the best, leaving for the fathers of the future those which armies and power could not use for its purposes. The fate of France has followed each war for empire. The war-like nation of to-day is the decayed nation of to-morrow. The statement that war is essential to the life of a nation,—that it strengthens a nation morally, financially and physically,—is the result of sheer ignorance, and one cannot respect the honesty and the intelligence of the man who makes it. War can only waste and corrupt. The motto of modern imperialism is: 'Never bully a big boy or turn one's back on a little one.'"

Read also this extract from the address of Gen. Carl Schurz, at Philadelphia, on the anniversary of Washington's birthday, February 22, 1900:

#### THE GREAT ALTERNATIVE.

"I entreat you soberly to contemplate the alternative now before us. If we permit the great wrong attempted by the administration to be consummated, our moral credit with the world will be gone forever. Having started in our Spanish war with the solemn proclamation that this would be a war of liberation and not of conquest, and then having turned that war into one of landgrabbing and self-confessed 'Criminal Aggression,' nobody will ever again believe in any profession of virtue or generosity we may put forth. It will be hooted

down the world over as sheer hypocrisy disguising greedy schemes. We shall be guilty of the meanest as well as, in its consequences, the most dangerous iniquity a nation can commit—the betrayal of an ally. There is nothing so perfidious that thenceforth we shall not be thought capable of, and other nations will prudently take care not to make common cause with us for anything upon a mere assurance of good faith on our part. This is the ‘glory’ we shall have won. Our sister republics in this hemisphere have looked upon the United States as their natural protector, and they were our natural friends. Since we have dishonored our professions of disinterested motive, they will always suspect us of a design to stretch out our rapacious hands also against them. Already they speak of this republic no longer as their strong and trusted friend, but as the ‘*peligro del Norte*’ the ‘danger in the north.’ And they will do this so long as we hold any of our conquests. In constant fear of our greed and perfidy, they will, in case of critical complications, be inclined to coalesce even with old-world powers against us, and we shall have secret or open enemies instead of trustful friends, at our very doors. We shall have the Philippines with a population bitterly hating us, and, in case of trouble with some foreign power, eager to kindle a fire in our rear. We shall, instead of enjoying the inestimable blessing of exemption from the burdens of militarism, be obliged to keep up large and costly armaments to hold down our discontented subjects and to provide for our own security. And more; we shall have a bad conscience. We shall have betrayed the fundamental principles of our democracy, robbed the American people of their high ideals and beliefs, and thus destroyed the conservative element without which a democracy based on universal suffrage cannot long endure.

*"And all this to gain some commercial advantage and naval facilities which we might have had just as fully, and much more securely, had we kept good faith with ourselves, with our allies, and with the world.*

"Now contemplate the other side of the alternative. If the American people, even after the monstrous aberrations of their government, repudiate the policy of criminal aggression and renounce their conquests; if they declare that their profession of unselfish motive and generous purpose in the Spanish war was sincere, and must be maintained at any cost—what then? They will forever put to shame the detractors of the American democracy. They will show that, although the powers of their government may some time be put to base uses by men of misguided ambition, the American people are honest and can be counted upon to resist even the strongest temptations, the intoxication of victory, and to submit even to the mortifying ordeal of a confession of wrong done in their name, in order that right, justice and liberty may prevail. Such an attitude will secure to the American people the confidence of mankind as it has never been enjoyed by any nation in the world's history, and with it the fruits of that confidence. Our democratic institutions will issue from the trial with a luster they never had before. By so splendid a proof of good faith this republic will achieve a position of unexampled moral grandeur and influence. It will naturally become the trusted umpire between contending states, a peaceable arbiter of the world's quarrels. It will not only be a great world power by its strength but the greatest of all existing world powers by its moral prestige."

That the reader may the more plainly understand the departure of President McKinley and his administra-

tion from republican traditions and policies, read and carefully study these three quotations which follow :

“Human rights and constitutional privileges, must not be forgotten in the race for wealth and commercial supremacy. The government by the people, must be by the people, and not by a few of the people. It must rest upon the free consent of the governed, and of all the governed. *Power, it must be remembered, which is secured by oppression, or usurpation, or by any form of injustice is soon dethroned.*”—Wm. McKinley at New England dinner in New York City, in 1890.

“I speak not of forcible annexation, for that cannot be thought of. That by our code of morals would be criminal aggression.”—From Message of President McKinley to Congress, April 11, 1898.

Both the foregoing utterances of McKinley, are born of Lincoln Republicanism, but are not in keeping with that which follows, nor in keeping with the infamy of our conquest of the Philippines.

While the Filipinos were being slain in their homes or hunted from them by the United States soldiers, sent by President McKinley to subjugate our allies—the President assured them of his kind purposes as follows:

“That Congress will provide for them (the Filipinos), a government which will bring them blessings, which will promote their material interests, as well as advance their people in the paths of civilization and intelligence, I confidently believe.”—President McKinley at Minneapolis, Oct. 12, 1899.

What Abraham Lincoln said of these promises of kindness offered to a people or a race as the price of the surrender of their liberties may be read with profit.

“Those arguments that are made that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying; that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow. What are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world. You will note that all the arguments of kingcraft were always of this class. They always bestrode the necks of the people not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. — Turn it every way you will, whether it comes from the mouth of a king as an excuse for enslaving the people of his country, or from the mouth of one race as a reason for enslaving the men of another race, it is all the same old serpent.”—Lincoln’s Complete Works, Vol. I., page 259.

These two past years of national dishonor have verified the truth of the words of the poet and sage who wrote, “False is that war no poet sings.” While no poet has found inspiration for jubilant song in our war upon our Filipino allies,—songs of protest, of national confession and humiliation have multiplied. One of these fitly closes this booklet, with its indictment of the three nations which in 1900—stand in the eyes of the world as the instruments of greed, and exponents of brute force.

#### AMERICA AND LIBERTY.

1. The Pilgrims, landing on these shores,  
With sinewy arms knocked in the doors  
Of destiny. They called to God—  
“Lord, break the tyrant’s shameless rod,  
That freely we may worship Thee;  
For we were born to liberty!

The altars of our hearths we'll raise  
On this fair soil. To Thee the praise  
For freedom's silver-fringed morn,  
For blessings on the ripening corn;  
We love Thy sun, we breathe Thine air;  
Now let our freedom be Thy care!"

2. Thus prayed the Puritans of yore,—  
The sea behind, the foe before,  
Nor prayed alone; but, gun in hand,  
Stood guard to hold their promised land,  
And held it,—Freedom's first bequest  
To Nature's noblest man. The West  
Stretched gloomily its wastes and wilds  
For thousand upon thousand miles.  
To conquer these required a man  
Of courage, like the Puritan.  
He had the will, he found the way;  
His soul was steel in frame of clay.
3. Here freedom's corner-stone was laid;  
Its pillars rose, its walls were stayed;  
The temple's towering dome reflects  
The wisdom of those architects  
Who built for man; nor questioned blood,  
Nor where his cradle once had stood.  
These men spoke out the fearless word  
That ne'er before on earth was heard  
In tones of strength and majesty:  
*A people, in its own right free.*  
Then trembled every kinglet's crown;  
From shivering hands fell sceptres down.
4. More than a hundred years have passed  
Since freedom fought the tyrant last  
At Lexington and Bunker Hill;  
A nation's heart and brain and will  
Have filled a page of history  
With conquests for humanity—  
A shining page—none brighter written  
By Greek or Roman, Gaul or Briton.  
And is that all? No heroes more  
To guard our freedom's open door?  
And shall this century's sunset see  
The doom and death of liberty?
5. Within a triangle of wrong  
The weak go down before the strong:

Its base from Finland to Transvaal  
Binds northern hut to southern kraal.  
Its sides are laid across our land,  
Across the graves of freedom's band,  
And meet where Filipinos die  
For home and liberty;—but why  
Are we the instruments to link  
The chains beneath which nations sink?  
Just God! Why must the Eagle share  
The greed of Lion and of Bear?

6. Three thousand miles from sea to sea!  
Suffice they not for you and me  
To grow between? Must we expand  
Five thousand more? At whose command?  
Gold-hungry Greed, cries, *More, still More!*  
Her hands are red with human gore  
And blood drips from her garment's hem.  
Is Hague forgot? Is Bethlehem?  
She strikes,—a nation bites the dust.  
Did God command her that she must?  
What would the Puritans have said?  
But they are dead! Yes, they are dead.
7. Who said "Haul down our flag"? No man  
Whose warm blood is American.  
Let freedom's noblest symbol rise  
With growing splendor to the skies?  
And let it be, where-e'er unfurled,  
The flag of hope to all the world!  
What! Did you say it waves o'er lands  
Where man in arms as conqueror stands?  
Our flag oppression's lurid rag?  
'Tis not OUR flag! 'Tis NOT our flag!  
Our flag must wave, where-e'er it be,  
For Justice, Right and Liberty!
8. And so again we pray to God:  
"Now break once more the tyrant's rod!  
And shouldst Thou find it in our hands,  
Oppressing man in foreign lands,  
Forgive, O Lord, the wanton deed,  
And take away the accursed reed!  
We've wrongs to right among ourselves,  
For him who daily toils and delves.  
Give to us courage, will and light,

To make our own land free and bright!  
Once more shall coming nations see  
In us their hope of Liberty."

PROF. WILHELM PETTERSEN,  
Minneapolis, Minn.

Readers who have become interested in the character and condition of this interesting people, who, in the words of the Philippine Commission (see pages 4 to 6 inclusive) "possess admirable personal and domestic virtues," a "high range of intelligence," and many of whom are "the equals of the men one meets in similar vocations (law, medicine, business, etc.,) in Europe or America," and whom in the interests of Christianity and the "greater Americanism" President McKinley proposes to "benevolently assimilate," so long as a single Filipino remains alive, will look with interest upon the following picture of a scene in the Philippines, as viewed and depicted by an observer, who, while serving with his regiment in the Philippines, had exceptional advantages as the official interpreter employed by General Lawton and others in command, in their intercourse with the natives.

Extract from a letter from Martin E. Tew, a member of the 13th Minnesota, and correspondent of the Minneapolis Times, dated Maasin, Luzon Island, May 10, 1899, and referring to engagements of April 22nd:

"Every inhabitant had left Norzagaray, and no article of value remained behind. The place had probably been the home of 1500 or 2000 people, and was pleasantly situated on a clear mountain stream in which a bath was most refreshing. It was not a city of apparent wealth, but in many houses were found evidences of education. In a

building which probably had been used as a school-house were found a number of books, and a variety of exercises written by childish hands. Pinned to a crucifix was a paper upon which was written the following in Spanish:

‘American Soldiers: How can you hope mercy from Him when you are slaughtering a people fighting for their liberty, and driving us from the homes which are justly ours?’

On a table was a large globe which did not give Minneapolis, but had San Pablo (St. Paul) as the Capitol of Minnesota. On a rude blackboard were a number of sentences, which indicated that the teacher had recently been giving lessons in the history of the American revolution.”—*From Minneapolis Times of June 17, 1899.*

Citizens to whom this booklet appeals with its suggestions of the duty of independent citizenship, will approve its closing words spoken by Abraham Lincoln, in 1858, in a like crisis of our nation’s life.

“To give the victory to the right, not bloody bullets, but peaceful ballots only are necessary. Thanks to our good old constitution, and organizations under it, these alone are necessary. It only needs that every thinking man should go to the polls and without fear and prejudice vote as he thinks.”—*Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. I., p. 427.*

This booklet is published and distributed by

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